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ABSTRACT

The Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy for the City of London (Ontario, Canada, November 1996) was the first municipal policy of its kind in Canada. It followed the development of the Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport and the Ontario Policy on Full and Fair Access for Women and Girls in Sport and Physical Activity. It resulted from initiatives by a local advocacy group, Females Active In Recreation (FAIR), which involved local educators, coaches, public health workers, recreation leaders, and parents. It was initiated after research found a three-to-one ratio of male to female participants across all sports. This paper critiques past approaches to gender equity in sports, reexamining contradictory notions behind liberal theories of equity, which rely heavily on traditional political and legal processes and policymaking. Models of school-community collaboration are noted. The paper describes the theoretical framework, highlighting liberal feminist, post-liberal, and poststructuralist theories. It also discusses the importance of interorganizational collaboration. It concludes that London's Gender Equity Policy has resulted in progress and new levels of community awareness, but there are still questions about the extent of structural change and growth in diversity and inclusion. (Contains 28 references.) (SM)

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GIRLS' SPORTS AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY: AN INCLUSIVE VISION FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Aniko Varpalotai and Alison Doherty

Prepared for Presentation at the Urban Girls: Entering the New Millennium Conference
Buffalo, NY, April 14-15, 2000

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Girls' Sports and Physical Activities in the Community:
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Introduction

The Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy for the City of London (Ontario, Canada, Nov. 1996) was the first municipal policy of its kind in Canada. This policy followed the development of the Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport (1986) and the Ontario Policy on Full and Fair Access for Women and Girls in Sport and Physical Activity (1994). Each of these policies was brought about, in part, thanks to the lobbying efforts of girls and women, and some men, through volunteer advocacy groups. The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS) was founded in 1981 and continues to be active at all levels of sport and recreation advocacy. This was the first official, and nationally recognized, group to lobby on behalf of girls's and women's physical activity and sport (Bell-Altenstad & Vail, 1995). From this organization, provincial and local branches emerged, and in the late 1980s, CAAWS began to focus on local, community initiatives, in particular. The London Gender Equity Policy is a product of these efforts, through the initiatives of a local advocacy group: Females Active in Recreation.

Females Active in Recreation (FAIR) was established in London in 1989, through the volunteer efforts of local educators, coaches, public health workers, recreation leaders, and concerned parents. It was based on the CAAWS model of community initiatives, and the intent from the beginning was to create a municipal policy for gender equity in sports and recreation. Towards this end, the group approached City officials and proposed a resolution which would commit the City to work towards a more equitable provision of resources, facilities, leadership and opportunities at all levels, and for all ages of girls and women. Working in collaboration with the City's Parks and Recreation Staff, one of whom was seconded to work directly on this project, the group provided leadership on the data that needed to be gathered, and subsequently on a needs assessment, and ultimately on the development of the policy itself. FAIR continues to act in an advisory capacity as the Policy is implemented through various City programs.

In reviewing the policies that have been developed at the national, provincial and local levels over the past two decades, one realizes that there was much faith placed in the political, legal and legislative processes. Furthermore, the emphasis, at all levels, though to greater or lesser degrees, has been on competitive and traditional notions of sport: i.e., funding is provided on the basis of the success of a sports organization in sanctioned international, national, provincial and regional competitions. Even though, in Canada, the sports jurisdictions were originally intended to be

divided along national and provincial lines (national sports governing bodies would be responsible for elite, high performance athletes, while provincial governments were to concentrate on developmental programs and recreation), it soon became clear that provincial sports governing bodies were just as competitive and high performance oriented, and most public funds ear-marked for sports were going to a few, high profile sports. This left the municipalities to address the needs of citizens looking for non-competitive fitness and recreational activities, and in the process, it was also left to the municipalities and schools to address the needs of previously marginalized and under-represented groups, including girls and women.

London, Ontario, is a typical mid-sized Canadian city with a population of about 300,000. It has its share of hockey, baseball, basketball and other sports leagues. And like many other Canadian cities, the vast majority of participants are boys and men. FAIR undertook a survey of all local sports associations, and found a three to one ratio of male to female participants across all sports. There was even greater gender differentiation among coaches in these organizations, with a ratio of five males to every one female coach. Only 3 of the 40 organizations surveyed had any kind of gender equity policy, and the sports leadership attributed the under-representation of females to the attitudes of girls and women towards physical activity. A further review of the program offerings through the City's recreation services found relatively limited programming for the 14-18 year old age group, and even these were limited largely to dance and self-defense activities for young women, rather than the full range of activities found for younger children and male participants. FAIR subsequently followed up with a commissioned study of the attitudes of London students aged 11-19 towards physical activities. The survey, conducted through the local school boards, revealed student attitudes which were in stark contrast to existing program offerings, and the perceptions of local sports leaders (Smale & Shaw, 1993).

The study found that girls were, in fact, more interested than boys in beginning or increasing their participation in a variety of sports and physical activities - including: basketball, hockey, downhill skiing and tennis. Boys tended to be quite satisfied with their current levels of involvement. Most revealing (but perhaps not surprising) were the constraints that girls identified as barriers to their participation in physical activities: **time**, too much school work, responsibilities at home, including chores and looking after younger siblings; **opportunity**, lack of transportation and equipment and inconvenient facilities; **knowledge**, lack of skills and knowledge of rules; **confidence**, feelings of inadequacy, embarrassment; and **parental approval** and expectations of being at home. The girls also identified liking certain aspects of sport which were not so prevalent for boys, including the social aspects (making new friends), becoming fit, and team spirit. All in all, it was very clear that girls were keen to become involved, or more involved, in physical activities of their choice. Neither the community, nor the continuing stereotypes about girls and sport, were facilitating this desire, despite decades of work across the country to increase both awareness and opportunities in this area.

London's Gender Equity Policy is now over three years old. The municipality faces barriers to its implementation plans, despite all of the good intentions behind the passage of this pioneering policy. A lack of financial and human resources, a shortage of recreation facilities, and no

coherent action plan has stalled the realization of the policy goals into practice and community wide enforcement. FAIR has continued its lobbying efforts, though it had initially assumed that with the passage of the Policy, the volunteer work was complete, and the City would take responsibility for its implementation. FAIR's ultimate goal had been the development of the Policy, and after seven years of concerted effort, in collaboration with the City, that goal had been realized. In reviewing the events of the past decade, it has become clear that policies are not enough. The community needs to re-think its approach if it is to be successful in changing the patterns of participation. An earlier paper (Doherty & Varpalotai, 2000) explored the multidimensional nature of the policy and suggested that while system (structural) barriers were being addressed to some extent, individual needs and underlying cultural barriers were not. There needs to be ongoing consultations with the stakeholders - including and especially the girls themselves. Following the various surveys, a thorough literature review and the program review undertaken by FAIR, it was decided that the initial programming efforts would be concentrated on the adolescent age group, where the greatest need and gap of services was seen to be. Currently, FAIR continues to act in an advisory capacity as the Policy is implemented through various City programs.

Other studies of the experiences of girls and young women in Canada have also identified this as the biggest gap - those at the center of our efforts are rarely consulted or heard from! (See: Torres, 1999; Holmes & Silverman, 1992; Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1992). And yet, some of the most revolutionary changes to sports rules and regulations, and even Human Rights Codes, have come about because of the persistence of young female athletes who would not take "no for an answer". Justine Blainey took her fight to play on a boy's hockey team to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1985, and won. Yet, fifteen years (and a new millenium) later, at least two girls in Ontario are engaged in similar battles to be allowed to play basketball on a boy's team because there is no girls basketball team for them to play on! This, despite national, provincial and local policies, a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and Provincial Human Rights Codes, all of which include equality measures which ought to prevent such cases in the first place. (London Free Press, January 29, 2000; Toronto Star, March 11, 2000)

Advocates for the equal participation of girls and women in sport may well ask, "Where did we go wrong - and what do we do now?" Or at the very least, "Why is it taking so long?"

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to offer both a critique of past approaches related to gender equity in sport and to re-examine some of the contradictory notions behind liberal theories of equity, which rely so heavily on the traditional political and legal processes, and the making of policy. Based on a theoretical framework of post-liberal theories of equity, and existing literature on interorganizational relations in sport, recreation and education, the objective is to offer a more collaborative and radical model for social change. Among these will be a re-visiting of some models of school-community collaboration, including Goodlad's proposed school-community continuum (1984), the recommendations from Ontario's more recent Royal

Commission on Learning (1994), and the current Ontario Curriculum guidelines for Health and Physical Education (1998) which emphasizes the shared responsibility of parents, peers, schools, health-care systems, government, the media, and a variety of other institutions and agencies... (p 2)

It is clear that the politics of equity are vulnerable to changes in government, the popularity of particular ideologies, and economic fluctuations. These fluctuations in commitment to progressive social change are reflected in changing educational and other social policies, funding patterns, and the mobilization of advocacy groups. Given that policies for enhancing the sport and recreational opportunities of girls and women already exist, and that the educational community appears to be open to collaboration and community interaction, there needs to be an organized and active movement to bring these mutual goals to fruition. One cannot lose sight of the pragmatic impetus driving some of these initiatives, but the activism and focus of previous efforts may not be appropriate at this current stage of feminist advocacy for girl's and women's sports. Previous efforts and successes ought not to be dismissed, even if they have not accomplished all that was hoped for. Instead, we need to build on these advancements, make the most of the policies which were so hard won, and think further ahead to what we want to achieve in the early years of this new millenium.

Theoretical Framework

Liberal feminist theories endeavour to work within mainstream political and legal structures in an effort to achieve equal opportunity for all. Liberal feminists argue that women are equal to men and therefore should have access to the same freedoms and opportunities. Equality of access and equality of opportunity are the aims. It is further argued that sexist attitudes and practices violate liberal values of liberty, justice and equality for all. Liberal feminists try to achieve individual equality through and within existing structures, assuming that they will work equally well for women and men. Nonetheless, there is an inherent competitive, meritocracy at work here - not all women and men will become equal through this philosophy - it merely advocates equality of opportunity - the results continue to depend on individual talent, effort and the outcome of competition. However, to use a sport metaphor, liberal feminists want to level the playing field, in order to offer girls and women opportunities similar (if not identical) to those of boys and men. In sport, this translates into girls' teams equivalent to boys' teams, or in the case of sports that have been traditionally played by one sex only (i.e., football or synchronized swimming) parallel opportunities in quantity if not quality of sport. Thus, the strategies are focussed on incorporating women into a sports world which has traditionally been dominated by men.

Liberal feminist approaches have been less threatening to the sports establishment than more radical socialist or cultural transformational models of social change. Nonetheless, they have and continue to meet with resistance. Even where there is no discernible shift in power structures, the realization that resources now need to be shared among a larger pool of potential athletes/participants, or in the cases cited above where a girl might want to play on a boy's team because there is no other opportunity to participate, has led to public debates in the media, the

courts and government legislatures. Nonetheless, equal opportunity policies have emerged, court battles have been won, laws have been changed, and even some deeply entrenched cultural attitudes towards women and sport have shifted. But sport itself has not changed in any significant way. Men's sport continues to dominate all aspects of the media; predominantly female sports (such as ringette) have a much lower profile than women's sports which are the offspring of men's sports (i.e., women's ice hockey). Issues of femininity and masculinity continue to be subjects of debate whenever women break new ground.

Post-liberal theories challenge the underlying value systems and their visible outcomes, but they are more threatening to the mainstream sports bodies because they are advocating fundamental change, rather than simply the inclusion of girls and women into a sport world that is the creation and playground of boys and men. (Lenskyj, 1986) Radical feminist theory questions the very premises of heterosexuality, the oppressive nature of the nuclear, patriarchal family, and advocates a more separatist than inclusive approach to re-inventing sport for girls and women. Among these strategies are women-only organizations, led by women, where women have control over their bodies, over the rules and regulations, and the entire organizational structure. While some girls and women have found comfort and safety in such sex-segregated settings (see Varpalotai 1992), others have argued that this doesnt move equality any further ahead than the liberal notion of being included in the existing structures (see Robertson, 1997). Separatist approaches foster exclusion rather than inclusion, which may be further exacerbated if gender is seen as the only basis of difference, ignoring other issues of 'difference,' class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, ability, etc. While it challenges the status quo, it also disengages from the larger process of social change.

Despite apparent criticisms of liberal and radical approaches, each has contributed to a more sophisticated understanding of the issues and viewpoints surrounding the participation (or lack thereof) of girls and women in recreational sport and physical activity. Feminist postmodernism (Rail, 1998) opens up the challenge even wider by recognizing the many different standpoints from which girls and women experience their social and cultural environments. As feminist theories evolve, they not only open up the possibilities, but further complicate our understanding of social dynamics, and the complexities of the social construction of gender, in general, and as it pertains to sport, in particular. It is argued that just as there is no universal explanation for the oppression of women, and thus no universal feminist theory, so too, there is no universal or total theory of sport and the gender dynamics within that part of human culture. Sport research, therefore, and subsequent 'needs assessments' must take the vast and varied diversity of girl's and women's experience into account. What are the stories of girls both in and out of sport? What are the possibilities in and through sport to meet the needs and multiple expectations of such a diverse population?

Finally, poststructuralist theory (see Duquin, 1994) focuses on how language and symbols are used in the construction of reality and self-identity. Sport is very fertile ground for such exploration as it has a language and semiotic system of its own. Power is vested with those who name, define, and are able to give meaning to this social reality. One has to learn the symbols and

discourse of sport in order to become an 'insider '- this is no simple recipe for true inclusion! How do girls and women, who have consistently been marginalized - even within sport! - begin to participate in an activity from which they have been so systematically excluded, to the point where they can begin to define and re-define the meaning of sport and from where they can recreate it to their own satisfaction? It seems that women need to become involved in existing sport structures (the liberal notion) at all levels and from many different perspectives (the postmodern approach) and then question, critique, and restructure in a way that is woman-defined, woman centred, and woman controlled (not dissimilar from the radical feminist perspective). But does this move girl's and women's inclusion in sport forward to a more inclusive, equitable and diverse model of sport? How does an understanding and redefinition of the language and symbols of patriarchal sport translate into other important manifestations of women's oppression (i.e., sexual abuse, violence, poverty)? Does a critique of this nature fundamentally alter sport itself, for both women and men? Can men's sport continue unchanged while girls and women redefine sport for themselves?

If we believe that sport is an integral part of our social and cultural fabric, rather than a separate and isolated entity that simply brings some respite from the more serious concerns of our daily lives, then the transformations we seek for sport must be connected to social transformations of a more general nature (Doherty & Varpalotai, 2000). This is where, we argue, it is important to establish interorganizational linkages, and collaborative efforts, to ensure that sport is not only truly inclusive, but represents a community commitment to equity and social change. There is merit to this proposal on several fronts. On a practical level, the limited resources of all partners (whether in the educational, recreational, health, or social service sectors) would be mutually enhanced with a sharing of physical, financial and human resources. In the process of making the links, various gaps and needs can be identified and responded to in a way that no single agency could manage on its own. Members of the community come into contact with different agencies at different times according to their needs. Girls may seek out recreational and sport opportunities on their own, or they may be introduced to these opportunities through their school, neighbourhood community centre, a social service agency, or a health practitioner. None of these organizations is entirely self-sufficient, and while some of these linkages might be deliberate and strategic in nature, a more systematic collaborative effort could lead to linkages that are not anticipated, but meet the needs of the members of a diverse community in unexpected and creative ways. While some of these examples already exist among non-profit, publicly funded organizations (i.e., the use of school facilities after school hours for municipal recreation programs), there is a growing movement towards partnerships among public and private organizations. Corporate sponsorships of community recreational and educational programs are inviting in an era of funding cuts to social services. However, one must be wary of the implications of such partnerships. The risks entail power struggles - who makes the decisions and controls the agenda? - loss of autonomy, assymetrical relationships, and conflicting loyalties Whose interests are being served? Returning to the objective of a more daring and inclusive vision for girl's sport and physical activity in the new millenium, what might be the most open, flexible, and transformative structure for challenging and re-inventing sport and physical activity in girl's own image? We can consider this from a general perspective, and with regard to the case

of London, Ontario.

Interorganizational Collaboration and a Vision for the Future

As was noted earlier, the London Policy stipulates collaboration with the community on a number of levels, with ongoing input from the stakeholders, themselves. School curriculum guidelines and provincial education policy also calls for community-wide collaboration in the provision of services and the promotion of equity, including the area of sport, fitness and recreation. Among the City initiatives, which have included FAIR and have begun to address some of FAIR's concerns have been the development of a London Sports Council (1998) and a City-wide Diversity Policy (1999). The Sports Council advocates a community that values and celebrates sport for all, while the Diversity Policy is intended to develop a community that values individual and cultural diversity in which all people have equal rights, opportunities, and access for their benefit and well-being. Both incorporate the Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy (1996). While the commitment to equity is becoming broader and more all-encompassing, it is perhaps too early to observe tangible results. There is an effort to be inclusive in the drafting and review of these documents, as well as in the follow-up activities. Many diverse organizations, representing immigrants, gays and lesbians, Native people, seniors and other social agencies have been involved in this process. The Mission Statement of the London Sports Council states that it is a community partnership dedicated to the betterment of sport in London through.... advocating for equitable sport opportunities and facility development.... Developing opportunities for networking and mentoring in the sport community.... Providing leadership and a voice for collective sports initiatives.... among its goals (1998). FAIR has been involved since its inception, and continues to advocate for equity for girls and women in particular.

As a part of the ongoing needs assessment and community survey of existing programs and organizational initiatives on behalf of greater equity and inclusiveness in sport and recreation opportunities, FAIR created a Gender Equity Audit Workbook (1996). The Policy had recommended that the City would endeavour to work with the community to provide gender equitable recreation opportunities, projects, programs, services, staffing and facilities which are consistent with this policy, (1996, p.1). Towards this end, the Audit Workbook provided a detailed and user-friendly guide to sports organizations, to enable them to assess their own organizations. The book assists organizations in answering the general question:
Does the way we currently run our programs exclude women and girls, either by limiting the amount and quality of access to programs and services, or by creating an unwelcome environment for them? (1996, p. 3) The Workbook offers definitions of gender equity, and proposes a four step plan to achieve gender equity: 1) Commit your organization to gender equity; 2) Collect and Review Data (through the completion of the Audit Workbook); 3) Develop and implement a Gender Equity Plan, and finally, 4) Monitor and Evaluate Implementation. The workbook enables an organization to review all aspects of its operations and services, i.e., existing policies, programs and services (including numbers of participants by gender), facilities and allocation, funding, awards, promotional materials, leadership, and less tangible things like environmental conditions (attitudes, language, safety issues, and levels of support). The workbook is just one

example of how a City policy can be implemented and reach its objectives through coordinating efforts with various constituent groups and arms-length organizations. In principle, any group receiving public funds is subject to the conditions of the Policy.

The City has worked with FAIR in this regard, by distributing the Audit Workbook to all staff, and auditing its own facilities and programs. Some recent initiatives include: new designs for arena expansions which will include more female change rooms; an evaluation of services to Seniors; promotion of gender equitable programs through the Boards of Education; pilot projects for children and teens based on the CAAWS On the Move programs to enable girls to learn new sports skills; facilities and safety audits of City owned sports facilities; and a regular review of the City's Ice Allocation Policy to ensure that girls sports receive fair and adequate time, a soccer field task force to assess the numbers of male and female participants and facility distribution; programs for adult women including: "It's Never Too Late Soccer", and a Fast Ball League. (Armistead, personal communication). Other programming includes a Young Women's Sport Leadership in Training program in conjunction with two local high schools, in response to the concern that there are so few women coaches, even in all-female sport; a Female Introductory Hockey Instruction program, and a Try It, Youl'l Like It smorgasborg of activities for girls who would like a taste of a variety of activities before becoming formally involved in one or more. There is ongoing communication between the City's Community Services staff and representatives of FAIR. More generally, the City is in the process of setting up a new registration software program which will enable it to track participation statistics by gender and other variables. Regular department meetings are now including monthly reports on the progress and monitering of equity programs, including the Inclusion of People with Disabilities Policy (1997), the Gender Equity Policy, and the Diversity Policy.

Interorganizational coordination and cooperation towards particular ends is not a new concept. The idea and various models have been proposed and implemented in other social services including youth services, and education. Renowned American educator, John Goodlad, proposed a collaborative network of interested parties to promote a model of community-wide education initiatives to create a continuum of schooling (Goodlad, 1984: 354). Among the characteristics of the partnership which evolved, were: the understanding that the development of such initiatives takes time, that partners must take personal responsibility and accountability for their roles, that each partner assumes leadership in their particular jurisdiction. The initial objective is not to completely change ways of doing things (in Goodlad's example education, in our model it would be sport) but rather to begin to stimulate thinking running counter to the familiar and comfortable (Ibid., p. 356). The partners bring fresh ideas to address old problems (i.e., gender inequities) to promote self-renewal and support long-term reconstruction, linking with others who have common goals to improve what exists and to design alternative visions. Goodlad argues that what is needed is Aa critical mass large enough to make a visible difference,... yet each partnership must be small enough to be conceptually and logistically manageable.... sharing a reasonable common agenda. He emphasizes the setting of long-term goals, and working towards them slowly, which he acknowledges can be frustrating, however: creating the future begins with transforming the present. (Ibid., pp 356-357)

This is not so different from the beginnings of the FAIR network which included individuals and organizations with a common interest in sport and recreation and a concern about gender equity in those domains. The City has also embraced a collaborative model with its more recent Diversity Policy for the City of London (Dec. 1999) which was developed by the London Race Relations Advisory Committee, in cooperation with a variety of city groups concerned with equity issues, including FAIR. The Policy encourages community collaboration at all levels and in all programs and services in order to ensure equal rights, opportunities and access.

Educational initiatives continue to serve as models for the kind of community collaboration one might imagination for the development of more equitable sport and recreation opportunities. The Ontario Royal Commission on Learning (1994) advocated as its very first strategic project for transforming education, an alliance between school and its community to share the overall responsibility for raising our children and seeing to their best development (p. 9). The Commission argued that piecemeal solutions to isolated problems do not, in the end, add up to a coherent framework for reform (Ibid.). The African saying, it takes a village to raise a child was quoted frequently, and like Goodlad, the Commission concludes that schools must become part of a network of many local or regional organizations, all inter-connected, and all dealing with the whole reality of childhood.... this concept of how a community raises its children is not original to us by any means, although despite lots of individual examples... it's never been carried very far in practice (pp. 10-11). The Commission, from its mandate to review education, suggests that schools would be at the centre of such a coordinated network. And that community and social service agencies and professionals would work together and with the schools to provide the various programs and services and resources necessary to raise healthy and whole children. Recreation and fitness are included here, as are the various equity issues which cut across all social institutions.

An additional partner, worthy of mention, is the media. From the inception of the FAIR committee and its proposal to the Mayor and City Council regarding the promotion of physical activities for girls and women in 1990, through to the various stages of policy development, and beyond, the media has documented and raised awareness of these initiatives. When FAIR was frustrated with the lack of implementation of the Policy, the media once again brought this to the attention of the community, and placed pressure on the City to move forward. The support of numerous community agencies, ranging from the Public Libraries to the local Health Unit, the YM-YWCAs, local sports organizations and the education system, helped convince the City of the need for such a policy. They have supported FAIR in all of the phases of research, public awareness and education, and policy development and implementation through participation on the committee, in focus groups, and ongoing networking.

It is clear from the experiences of FAIR and the subsequent Policy development and initiatives, that working in isolation and either parallel or at cross purposes with related agencies is neither efficient nor effective. A previous analysis of the Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy by the authors (2000) concludes that there must be more overlap between the spheres of policy, cultural transformation and the individual. In order for social change to occur in fundamental and

transformative ways, all levels need to be engaged in the process, and preferrably in some coordinated and integrated fashion. Further to that, it is paramount that those who are of greatest concern, and who are in the best position to provide feedback and input, the girls themselves, must be included as fully as possible, in the development, implementation and evaluation of policies, programs and other change initiatives. The Royal Commission on Learning (1994) was hailed for its inclusion of a student as one of the Commissioners. This is both sensible and essential if we are to see what is going on and what is needed through diverse lenses.

Conclusion

In the City of London, the ground has been broken through community initiatives and existing policies. There is greater awareness, resources exist to facilitate change, and the seeds have been planted. If the social transformation which has been envisioned is to grow in this fertile ground, it must be tended carefully and regularly through cultivation, further fertilization, and ongoing vigilance. Some networks exist, there are other potential partners in the community to help tend this collective garden. Social change is an organic and dynamic effort. As Goodlad has warned, it takes time, and acceptance of delayed gratification. Each time an issue emerges, where a girl is denied the opportunity to participate in an activity of her choice, the collective must review and re-assess the gaps in service and continue to educate the community about the wider issues of equity.

This takes us full circle, back to the post-liberal theories for social change. While there has been some obvious progress, and a new level of community awareness, as a result of London's Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy, there are still questions about the extent of structural change, and growth in diversity and inclusion. The ongoing, and more sophisticated tracking of data in this regard will help answer some of these questions. The leaders in training program will hopefully encourage growing numbers of young women to participate in the ongoing social transformations needed to make sport and recreation truly inclusive. But the current leaders in recreation policy and programming must remain in touch with those for whom they wish to improve participation opportunities. Without the full inclusion of girls and women at every level of decision-making, program planning and active participation, the vision for a truly inclusive sports and physical activities community will not come to fruition.

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